/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

1: Nachtigall --62 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

d) Animal Husbandry

231 Although the Paez keep large livestock, cattle and
233 horses, along with small livestock, they are not livestock-
[232] raisers in the true sense. They neither have anything to do
[492] with the breeding of their animals nor do they utilize their labor
[237] power to any great extent. The utilization of animal products,
too -- especially those of the large livestock -- bears no rela-
231 tion to the existing possibilities. Horses (hímba; stallion =
492 himbapítste, mare = himbaóite) are used least of all, though they
[556] do find use now and then in milling sugar cane. Actually, peo-
ple have them only to have them and to be considered rich.
They are used neither as draft horses in front of wagons nor as
beasts of burden, and only now and then as riding animals, with-
231 out a saddle, by young people. Adult men do not ride, even
484 though the mountainous country, difficult to traverse on foot,
492 fairly challenges one to ride, and the Paez, on their visits to the
markets, see almost all the colonists on horseback. But "we are
accustomed from the time of our forefathers to walk in the moun-
tains," they reply, "and we are much faster on foot than you are
on horseback." They are not wrong about this, and one would
not like to trust one of the Paez horses, degenerated through in-
breeding, to carry its rider on market days 30 kilometers over
232 hill and dale from Calderas to Inzá and back again. Since the
[556] Paez does not demand service of his horses, it is understandable
that only the number of head counts for him and his reputation.
How the horses look generally matters not at all; in no case is
there any breeding selection, nor does a man know anything
about the mating and birth of his animals, but generally finds
out about a new litter only after it has arrived. Gestation times
are unknown. From various parties I was assured that horses,
cows, sheep, and pigs were pregnant "about a year." Castra-
tion of stallions, bulls, and rams is not known; it happens now
and then in the case of boars, with the owner -- no specialist --
cutting out the testicles of the young pigs with a knife.

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[275] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/168 cont./

484 Special orientation devices for traveling are unknown and are unnecessary, since no one leaves the wider area of his home district. Anyone taking a route for the first time joins someone who knows the way. One does not travel by night, and for this [482] reason the stars do not serve for orientation. The average load to be sold on market days is about 20 to 25 pounds for men; if a married couple goes together, the man usually carries the load, and the woman, the provisions. The daily distances covered are considerable. From Calderas by way of San /169/ Andrés to the market at Inzá is almost 20 kilometers. It takes about [492] six hours on foot. On horseback it is not much less, since one cannot ride fast on the steep paths of the countryside. Many Paez manage this route back and forth in one day, albeit only "without becoming intoxicated on the way," which is not altogether simple.

487 The traffic routes consist of narrow footpaths which can be traveled by walking or riding only in single file. As for roads 491 for wagons or autos, there is only one at present: the gravel auto road from La Plata to Belalcázar, traveling up the Río Paez. Since the end of 1952, however, a connecting road to Inzá is being built with modern American road-building equipment, which will then open up to traffic the southern, less mountainous area of Tierradentro, settled exclusively by colonists, and its products, coffee and panela /see the glossary, p.249 /. These roads are cut directly out of the sometimes very steep slopes and cross rivers and brooks with modern iron bridges.

491 The Paez, too, are accustomed to crossing the waterways 484 on bridges. It is not customary to wade across, unless it is a matter of very shallow brooks. Even then large stones are usually set in them, by means of which one can reach the opposite 491 shore with dry feet. The bridges of Paez may be divided into three groups, according to their construction. The simplest type is that of two thick poles or tree trunks placed side by side, without a railing, which span the ditches around the farmyards [825] and gardens that substitute for fences. Such ditches are supposed to prevent horses, cattle, and pigs from entering. Over the

/254 cont./

804 192 The period of a day is subdivided into the day (ẽn) and the night (kos). Early morning is called kosẽ; afternoon at the time when work is at an end, which is reckoned by the position of the sun, is called ff'nze. Other subdivisions of the day are made according to the interval of an ẽšnetc, meaning the time it takes to chew a dose of coca. In translation this designation is used for "hour." The largest period of time is the month, ãte, which is designated by the same word as for "moon." For the period of a year the Spanish word año is used. In former times the word [221] enzte was used. It is the designation for the large annual communal fishing at the weir during the dry season in February. The [226] [132] two rainy seasons, called nospá'nye, and the two dry seasons of the year, called sek, are not regarded as time intervals, but as seasons. The latter is at the same time the word for "sun."

823 [491] No large geographical orientations or regional, individual divisions of any kind could be discovered. Moreover, all of Tierradentro is enclosed by civilized areas -- there is even an auto road leading to Belalcázar -- so that many Paez men have seen the surrounding countryside and even cities with their own eyes.

601 [186] 123 484 Only the western bordering mountains of the Central Cordillera, in the direction of Popayán, are conjectured to be the habitation area of the dreadful man-eaters, the Pijao. Geographical means of orientation are unknown. Traveling is done only during the day, in groups, and in company with a person who knows the way.

821 Of the stars it is only known that there stars that move and fixed ones, without their being distinguished in greater detail or according to constellations.

202 [361] [203] It is amazing that, in spite of their settlement pattern of individual farms, the Paez do not have any optical or acoustical means of communication over larger distances. /255/ In case of urgent news or questions, children are sent.

802 There are numbers only from one to six and ten. For the designations seven to nine the corresponding Spanish numbers are used. The Paez word for "ten" (kóse pémba) literally means "no more hands" and indicates that the fingers were used for counting. The toes are not used for counting; anything beyond ten is

/303 cont./
539 went past the tree. The head walked on and on, and since it could not find the man anywhere, it turned back and found the scent of the man at the foot of the tree. It looked up and saw the man sitting in the highest tip of the tree. The head was unable to climb the tree, however, and in order to reach the man, it went back a little and leaped into the air. But it still could not quite reach the man and fell down to the ground again. Then it tried again and again, more than /304/ a hundred times, but it could never reach the man because he was sitting too high. Then the head became frightfully tired from its many vain attempts, and since it had to walk far to reach home, it had to leave the man whom it wanted to kill and return so as not to meet human beings by day. Then the Palma man climbed down from his tree and was able to reach home safely.

14. The White Dog

539 781 794 The father of Victoriano went to Belalcázar one Saturday, where he became drunk. At two o'clock at night he set out on the way back. On the way he saw a white dog that was very thin. The father thought that it was a regular dog, but it was not a dog at all, but rather the taff soul of a human being. Suddenly this dog turned into a human being, very thin and lean in shape, whose heart hung out of the body so that it dangled in front of the chest. Then the father gave the lean dog a blow with his traveler's staff, but it did not hit the dog. The father became frightened at this and took to his heels. But the lean man kept running after him, so that the father, out of fear, became short of breath and almost died. Then the father pretended to be very stupid and simply sat down beside the road, laid his hands on his knees, and went to sleep. The lean man then left him. When the father awoke in the morning, he looked for the place where he had first met the lean dog, but he found only a bush with white blossoms. The father was convinced, however, that he had met a taff.

484 794 761 (No Paez customarily goes long distances at night, because the taff souls are abroad at night. And if a taff meets a human being, it immediately calls together a great many other taff ("about 50") and they bring about the death of the person, because the one concerned kills himself out of fright.)

Bernal Villa--I F-5 (1952) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

900

Aspects of Paez Culture
Mythology and Tales from the
Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro
by Segundo Bernal Villa

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Chapter I

131 Geographic location.--In the northeastern part of the de-
133 partment of Cauca, like a spearhead embedded in the department of Huila, is found the region of Tierradentro, formed by the numerous eastern spurs of the Central Cordillera. It has the shape of a triangle formed by the water divides of the hydrographic basins of the rivers Páez and Yaguará to the east and La Plata and Páez to the south. Toward the west, the Central Cordillera rises like a backbone, along which the paramos of Guanacas (3,518 meters), Las Delicias (3,750 meters), and Moras (3,670 meters) stand out. Toward the north, like a gigantic colossus and dominating the vertex of this geometric figure, stands Nevado del Huila (5,750 meters), the highest in Colombia, except for the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

133 Topography.--Actually, Tierradentro is a complex of mountains running in every direction, although along general lines they are oriented from west to east on the right bank of the Páez and from north to south on its left bank, rugged, steep, with lofty peaks and great gorges, canyons and hills, ravines and valleys, terraces and escarpments, ridges and plateaus, numerous gullies, rivers, and streams with violent currents and thundering noise. To travel through this region "is to go up or down," as was said by Fr. Pedro de Aguado (1).

[484]

1. Cited by Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 925. /See the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309./

/281 cont./

487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain 175 Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary re- 648 venge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense • [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalacázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

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several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/179 cont./

123 At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for
●484 Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at
491 first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery
123 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored
342 roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the
133 Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south
[361] and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/303 cont./

241 relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests
433 are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields.
244 The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They them-
[492] selves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market
[435] in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate
[132] at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the
[484] winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and
433 Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May.
244 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this
433 time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the
[434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

/321 cont./

231 [796] [533] The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for 492 reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for 484 the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles, [249] /322/ although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride [482] on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy [562] load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or [754] donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey [789] for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs, [422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers [233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to [232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [a] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[a] Statement made by Javier de Orozco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Bolaleáar, or Páez.